JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

WINTER 2002 VOLUME XXVIII, NUMBER 2

THE MUSEUM OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

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Cover illustration: Miniature portrait of an unknown lady by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1805. Watercolor on ivory: H 2 1/2"; W 2". *MRF 20442: private collection, 2003.*

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Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière

A Portrait Miniaturist Revisited

STEPHEN C. WORSLEY

PREFACE

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826) joined the ranks of a small but important group of émigré artists working in the United States. Today his work is represented in more than half a dozen public collections and his name is regularly included in lists of southern artists, yet his remarkable life remains a mystery to many who examine his work. Most of the sketchy details about his career that do appear in exhibition catalogs can be traced to Anna Wells Rutledge's 1949 article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, although her work is cited only infrequently.[1] Unfortunately the best English language account of Clorivière's life, Richard Cain Madden's 1938 master's thesis, remains unpublished and little known.[2] This article will build upon the work of both of these earlier scholars. It will also utilize previously untapped resources including the artist's papers at the Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives (Clorivière's profile, held in the Visitation Monastery Archives, can be seen in *figure 1*), contemporary newspaper accounts catalogued at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, and the American art database compiled by the National Museum of American Art.[3]

FIGURE 1. Profile of Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière. *Courtesy of Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f1.*

"LIKENESSES . . . FOR THE INTEREST OF CHAPPEDELAINE & VERY A PROPOS!"[4]

When Savannah attorney John Berrien received a portrait miniature as a gift in January of 1806, it came not from his wife or from a member of his family, but rather it was presented on behalf of a client. The image of the attorney, painted in watercolor on ivory by émigré artist Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière, was framed in a gold medallion. This generous token of esteem, for which the attorney's client, John Baptiste Mark Michael de Chappedelaine, was billed $61 including $36 for the frame, must have pleased Berrien and his family for they subsequently commissioned at least three additional portraits from the same artist. A portrait by Clorivière of Berrien's wife, Mrs. John Berrien, is presented in *figure 2* and a detail of Clorivière's signature on that miniature is shown in *figure 2a*.[5]

Certainly the artist had reason to smile. As Chappedelaine's brother-in-law and agent, Clorivière paid himself from his brother-in-law's account for the portrait presented to the attorney Berrien. In doing so, Clorivière profited not only from the gift he presented on Chappedelaine's behalf, but from three additional commissions he subsequently gained from the attorney and his family. The exercise proved so fruitful that Clorivière repeated it at least six times, painting portraits of other attorneys he had hired to represent his brother-in-law. In each case the artist charged Chappedelaine for the portrait presented on his behalf.[6] In this way Clorivière extended his reputation as an artist in the various communities he visited while representing his brother-in-law's interests. It is not known what Chappedelaine thought of being billed for gifts to his attorneys over and above the legal fees they charged. Any discomfort Chappedelaine may have experienced as a result his brother-in-law's self-serving largesse most likely was eased when Chappedelaine grossed more than $11,600 in 1807 and 1808 as a result of Clorivière's efforts. In any event, Chappedelaine continued to rely upon his brother-in-law to assist with the management of his American properties until Clorivière died in 1826.[7]

FIGURE 2. Miniature portrait of Mrs. John Berrien (b. 1759–d. 1815) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), ca. 1806. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2⅝″; WOA 2″. *MRF 8254; descended in family to present owner, 1978.* See Appendix B for further discussion about the possible identity of this portrait's sitter.

FIGURE 2A. Detail of signature.

Adventures in France

Born the son of a Breton nobleman on 4 November 1768, the artist was nephew and godson of the famed Jesuit, Pierre-Joseph Picot de Clorivière (1735–1820).[8] Educated at the College of Rennes, Joseph-Pierre's roommates included Chateaubriand and Moreau.[9] After graduating from the royal military academy, the future artist embarked on a career as an officer in the army of Louis XVI. Following his father's death on the guillotine, Joseph-Pierre joined in the Vendeen revolt against the Revolution.

Joseph-Pierre was identified as one of the principal conspirators in a plot to assassinate Napoleon Bonaparte on 24 December 1800. The tremendous explosion that destroyed Napoleon's carriage and killed numerous bystanders left the First Counsel unharmed. Joseph-Pierre was sentenced to death for his part in the bombing, although, alone among the assassins, he escaped; hiding first in a church basement, then fleeing to Brittany. In various accounts of his exploits, Limoëlan (as he was then called) was aided by his godfather, l'Abbé, and by his fiancée, Mlle Julie d'Albert. In his memoirs, Chateaubriand asserts that Mlle d'Albert, upon hearing of Joseph-Pierre's escape to safety, entered the convent as she had promised she would when beseeching divine protection for her fiancée.[10]

Émigré Artist

From Brittany, Limoëlan appears to have traveled to Savannah, Georgia, in the company of his sister and her husband, John Baptiste Mark Michael de Chappedelaine. The trio most likely arrived during the summer of 1802. While Clorivière (as he now styled himself) had obvious reasons for quitting France, his brother-in-law came to claim property he had inherited a decade earlier as a result of a duel between relatives. Chappedelaine's inheritance included 10 percent of Sapelo Island, a portion of Jekyll Island, a mill in New Jersey, land in Ohio, and other assets in Rhode Island. Within a matter of months, Chappedelaine realized that it would take years

to settle the estate. Naming Clorivière his attorney-in-fact, Chappedelaine returned to France with his wife early in 1803.[11]

For the next five years, Clorivière divided his attention between the administration of his brother-in-law's rather complex affairs and the painting of portrait miniatures. Just as the beginning of Clorivière's artistic career and much of its subsequent location were determined by his work on behalf of his brother-in-law, so the timing of its conclusion may also have been influenced by it.

Throughout most of his working period as an artist, 1803–1808, Clorivière was engaged in protracted legal proceedings on Chappedelaine's behalf involving land in Ohio and in Georgia. To pursue these cases the artist traveled to federal court in Louisville in 1805, and to Washington for the February terms of the United States Supreme Court in 1807 and 1808. As a result of his persistent challenges and appeals, Clorivière was able to credit his brother-in-law's account with a payment of $5,000 on 31 December 1807. Four days later Clorivière became a citizen of the United States. A second payment of $6,664.79 was made to Chappedelaine's account on 23 July 1808. The same day, Clorivière paid fees and commissions totaling $733.36 to his brother-in-law's attorneys. Clorivière then borrowed $1,200 from Chappedelaine's account to pay for tuition, room, and board at the seminary in Baltimore where the artist had matriculated in April.[12]

Pastor & Architect

As early as 1803, Clorivière had written to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore on behalf of Savannah's Catholics concerning the need for a priest to serve their community. Clorivière's awareness of the shortage of Catholic priests in the South can only have increased as he traveled over the next few years. Indeed, eighteen years later, when Bishop John England arrived in Charleston, there was still only a single priest active in Georgia and one in South Carolina, with none in North Carolina.[13] Responding to this need and perhaps with the encouragement of his godfather, l'Abbe, Clorivière entered St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore on 9 April 1808, after having

successfully pressed various claims on behalf of his brother-in-law. After completing his studies in Baltimore, Clorivière was ordained a priest at the Seminary in the spring of 1812 by Archbishop Carroll.[14] Clorivière was thereupon appointed pastor of St. Mary Church in Charleston, South Carolina, where he encountered a scene quite different from the Catholic France of his youth. Passing through Fayetteville, North Carolina, on his way to assume his first assignment, he wrote:

> . . . stopping at very indifferent accommodations I was obliged to say my office [prayers] in the same room with the people of the house, and their curiosity roused by the blue and red & yellow ribbands of my breviary, and by the dexterity with which I turned from one to the other made them inquire of my profession. I would have made them believe everything of me except that I was in the right. I had some curious conversations with them.[15]

Prior to Clorivière's appointment as pastor, a substantial portion of the Charleston parishioners had openly rebelled against the authority of their bishop who resided in Baltimore. Similar conflicts plagued early Catholic congregations in Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia. The phenomenon, which later came to be known as "Trusteeism," had its roots in the conflict between the hierarchal structure of the Catholic Church and a spirit of local independence common in the American republic. The frequently ethnic character of such disputes was exacerbated in Charleston when Clorivière, a French royalist, was assigned to lead a congregation comprised largely of Irish republicans![16]

Returning to France briefly in 1815, Clorivière was decorated by Louis XVIII for support of the monarchy during the Revolution.[17] Thereafter Clorivière remained in South Carolina until 1819, at which time he resigned his pastorate having concluded that the disputes troubling the Charleston parish could be resolved only upon his departure.

Clorivière was then named as priest-confessor of the Visitation Monastery in Georgetown, D.C., where today he is revered as the

second founder of that congregation by its members.[18] The Monastery's archivist relates that the small community was floundering when Clorivière arrived. Under his direction, a school for poor girls was founded and the educational program for all the students was strengthened. Clorivière insisted on teaching math and science to the young women and trained the sisters to do the same. Liquidating his estates in France for the benefit of the monastery, Clorivière designed and served as general contractor for the construction of the sisters' free school (1819), chapel (c. 1820) *(figures 3 and 3a)*, a four-story school building (c. 1824) *(figure 4)*, and several smaller buildings.[19] When he died in 1826, Clorivière was buried beneath the altar of the monastery chapel where his tomb remains to this day.

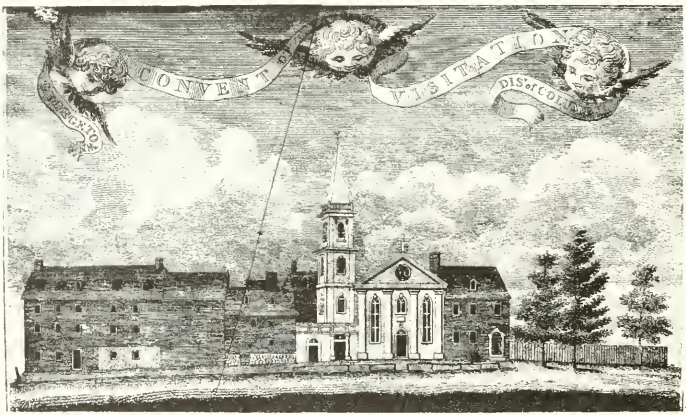

FIGURE 3. Drawing of the first Georgetown Visitation Monastery showing the adjoining chapel that was designed and built by Clorivière ca. 1820. *Courtesy of Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B14, f-03.*

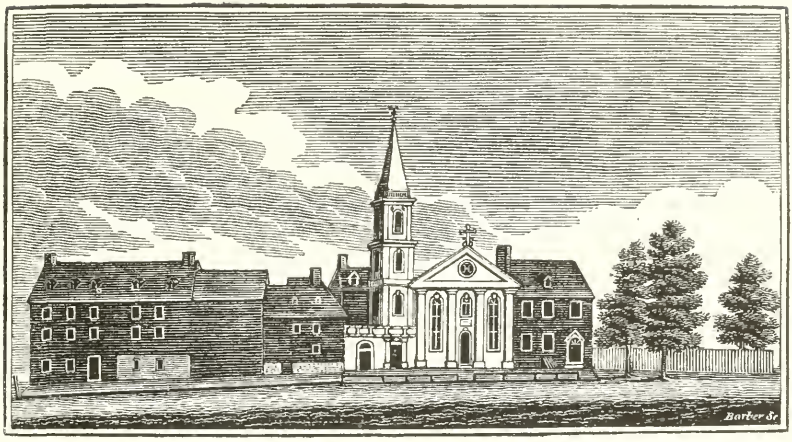

FIGURE 3A. Drawing of the first Georgetown Visitation Monastery showing the adjoining chapel that was designed and built by Clorivière ca. 1820. *This drawing appeared in Anne Royall's* Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States, by a Traveller *(New Haven, Connecticut: Anne Royall, 1826), frontispiece.*

FIGURE 4. Photograph of the school at the Georgetown Visitation Monastery designed and built by Clorivière ca. 1824. *Courtesy of Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B14, f:03.*

The first appearance of the artist's name in the United States occurs in the Superior Court Records of Chatham County, Georgia, on 16 February 1803, where Chappedelaine named "my said Brother in law Picot de Clorivière to be my true and lawful attorney," and nominated him to be administrator of the will of Julian Joseph Hyacinthe de Chappedelaine, late of the Island of Sapelo (d. 1793).[20] The following month, the clerk of court advertised Clorivière's application for "Letters of Administration" in connection with the estate and invited responses from relatives or creditors.[21] Apparently there were no objections, for in April Clorivière advertised his intention to sell one thousand acres of Sapelo Island for the benefit of his brother-in-law whom he described as living in Europe.[22] Clorivière's surviving copy of his account with Chappedelaine begins 24 February 1803. Entries made during the spring of that year include payments for the advertisements and various legal pleadings, along with a payment of $100 to attorney John Noel, the first of many for legal representation. On 9 March 1803, Clorivière paid freight for the first of several shipments of cotton to France that would take place over the next few years. On May 13 he also received an initial payment of $100 for the sale of land on Sapelo Island.

Clorivière embarked on a six-and-a-half month journey on behalf of the estate on 13 June 1803. The trip would take him to New York City; Morristown, New Jersey; Providence, Rhode Island; and back to Morristown. In August he paid for a title search in Ohio. Later that month he recorded a dividend of $112.39 on the Ohio property, and in November, a payment of $600 for the sale of property that had taken place in July. Four hundred dollars of this amount was remitted to Chappedelaine in France through the agency of Mr. Dupont de Nemours.

Returning to Georgia in November (a detail from a map showing the Savannah River Valley is presented in *figure 5*), Clorivière credited his brother-in-law's account $89 for the cost of a package that his sister had sent to him from Bordeaux, France. Less than two weeks

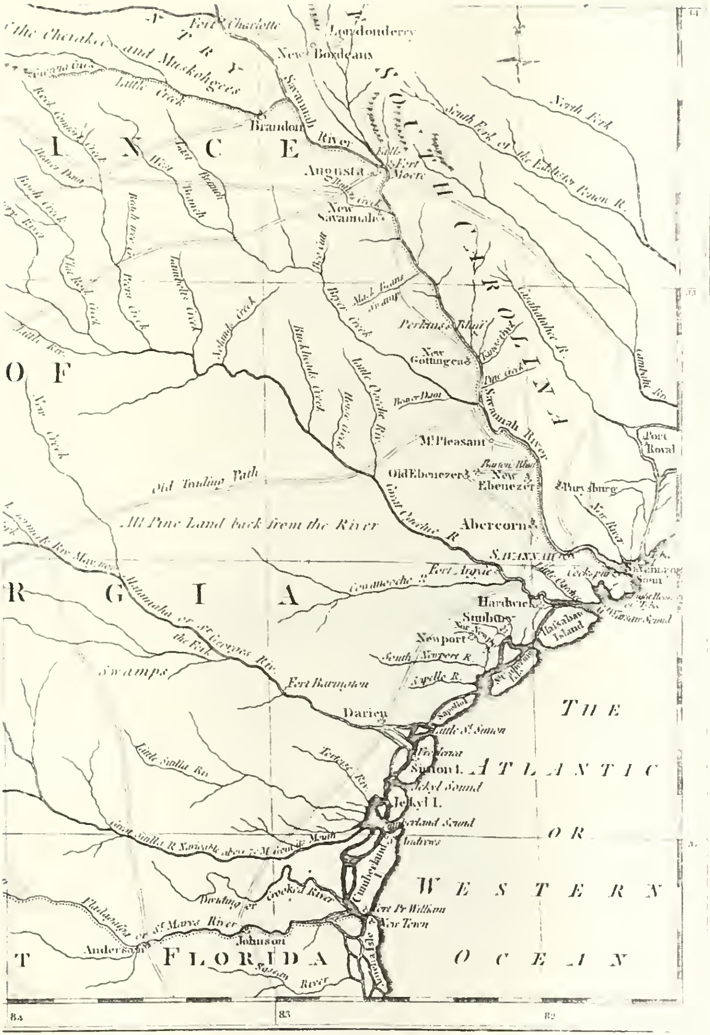

FIGURE 5. Detail of the Savannah River Valley from *A New and Accurate MAP of the PROVINCE OF GEORGIA IN NORTH AMERICA* by an unknown artist, 1779. Ink on paper; HOA 13½"; WOA 12¼". *MESDA acc. 4112.*

later, Clorivière advertised for the first time his availability as an artist:

> MR. CLORIVIERE OFFERS his talents IN MINIATURE PAINTING, to the Ladies and Gentlemen who desire their Likenesses. Price twenty-five Dollars, likeness warranted. Apply in Broughton-street, near the corner, opposite to the Custom-house.[23]

In view of the timing, the package Clorivière received from his sister may well have included the materials he needed to begin work as a portrait miniaturist, namely ivory, brushes, paints, and frames. After working intently on his brother-in-law's affairs for the better part of a year, Clorivière evidently felt the need to engage in additional work. For the next five years he would divide his time between painting portrait miniatures and managing Chappedelaine's affairs. While full details are lacking, surviving documents suggest that both occupations provided Clorivière with significant income during the years 1803–1808.

If his painting supplies came from France, one may ask where he received instruction in painting miniature portraits. Although Clorivière may have received help from other émigré artists already working in America, he had obtained his original training in France. In his memoirs, Chateaubriand noted that he possessed a miniature of his sister painted by his roommate Joseph-Pierre. Clorivière would have been 13 or 14 years of age at the time they roomed together.[24] Additional instruction in drawing may also have been a part of his education at military school. The soldier-turned-priest's considerable drawing skills are evidenced in a bird's-eye view of the grounds of the Georgetown Visitation Monastery *(see figure 6)*, which Clorivière drew as he began planning the development of the campus.

The earliest surviving miniatures painted by Clorivière in America are dated 1805, more than a year after the appearance of his first advertisement. The subject of one of these early portraits, Hazen Kimball *(figure 7)*, was born into a prominent New Hampshire family on 8 September 1767.[25] At first it was unclear how Clorivière came to paint a New England resident. Standard published refer-

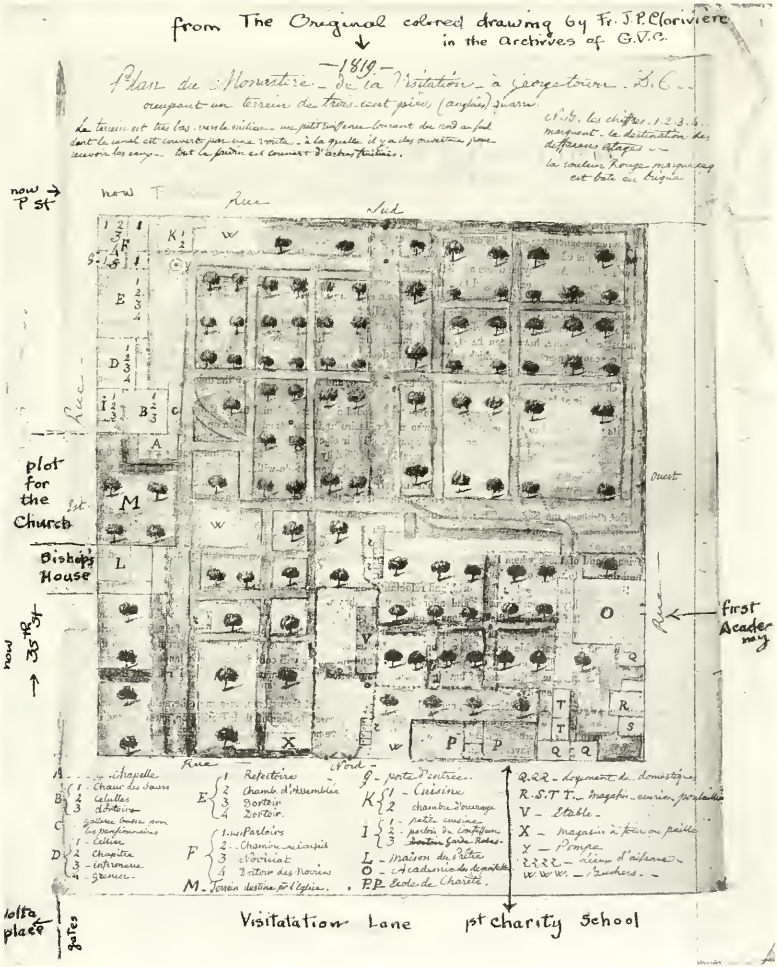

FIGURE 6. Drawing by Clorivière of the grounds at the Georgetown Visitation Monastery, ca. 1819. *Courtesy of Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B4, f12.*

FIGURE 7.
Miniature portrait of Hazen Kimball (b. 1767–d. 1819) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1805. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2⅜″; WOA 2″. *MRF 29441; private collection, 2003.*

ences (dictionaries of biography) gave no evidence of Kimball residing in the South. The answer to this and similar questions regarding Clorivière's other subjects lay in the *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans* at MESDA. In the process of documenting southern artists and artisans, MESDA's staff created files on a vast number of people whose names appeared in southern newspapers and court records prior to 1826. If the person's occupation was subsequently identified to be anything other than that of an artist or artisan, no further information was recorded; however, the files created for such individuals (non-artisans) were retained. Consequently the files are immensely valuable in identifying the occupation of all manner of people in addition to the artists and artisans for which the *Index* is normally used. In the case of Hazen Kimball, MESDA's files provided the missing link by demonstrating that Kimball worked as a factor in Savannah for at least fourteen years prior his death on 17 July 1819.[26] In this occupation, Kimball could easily have had contact with Clorivière when the artist was arranging shipments of cotton to France for his brother-in-law.

The frame of the Kimball portrait miniature, with its repaired clasp, shows evidence of having been worn extensively, perhaps by a family member left behind in New Hampshire. Conservator Carol Aiken has noted that this early portrait, along with another of the same year, shows evidence of an uncommon approach to mounting the ivory within the frame (see *figure 7a*).[27] It is possible that her research on mounting techniques will provide future clues that will help in the attribution of unsigned miniatures portraits to Clorivière.

Stylistically this early portrait of Kimball is characterized by a relative linearity and flatness of the facial features, especially the nose. A certain timidity may be understood in an artist who had painted little since adolescence. By comparison, Clorivière's portrait of Oliver Sturges *(figure 8)*, signed and dated the same year (see *figure 8a*), shows greater confidence evidenced in a more fluid modeling of the nose, mouth, chin, and eyelids.[28] An even greater sense of three-dimensionality is visible in the facial details and clothing of Cloriv-

FIGURE 7A. Contents of the locket showing the packing material when disassembled during conservation.

ière's signed, but undated, portrait of Frederick Benton (*figure 9*; the elaborate back of this miniature with a crystal window allowing one to view the lock of hair and seed pearls arranged to spell "FB" in script is shown in *figure 9a*). Portraits of John Berrien's son-in-law, Dr. John Aloysius Casey *(figure 10)* and his brother, Dr. Thomas Casey *(figure 11)*, both signed and dated 1807 (see *figures 10a* and *11a*), reflect a similar competence in the handling of facial features.

In the spring of 1804, Clorivière arranged for a second shipment of cotton to France on the account of his brother-in-law. He also retained a second attorney, a Mr. Woodruff, to help with a case involving Chappedelaine's property. The following year, Woodruff became the first of six attorneys working on Chappedelaine cases for whom Clorivière presented portraits that he painted at his brother-

FIGURE 8.
Miniature portrait of Oliver Sturges (b. 1777–d. 1824) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1805. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2 9/16″; WOA 2⅛″. *MRF 8264; collection of Mrs. Lorton Stoy Livingston (Margaret Gilchrist), 1975, 1995.*

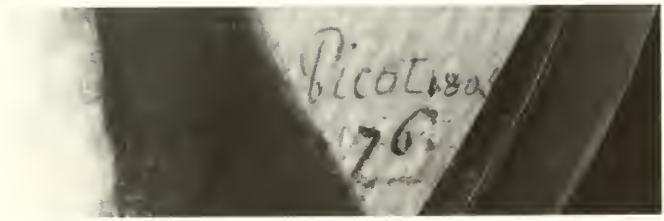

FIGURE 8A. Detail of signature and date.

FIGURE 9.
Miniature portrait of Frederick Benton by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½″; WOA 2″. *Courtesy of the James Monroe Law Office, Fredericksburg, Virginia, acc. JM 76.24; MRF 6000.*

FIGURE 9A. View of back revealing a lock of hair and seed pearls that spell out "FB" in script.

FIGURE 10. Miniature portrait of Dr. John Aloysius Casey (b. 1781–d. 1819) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1807. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2 9/16″; WOA 1 15/16″. *MRF 8253; collection of Sophie Meldrim Shonnard, 1975.*

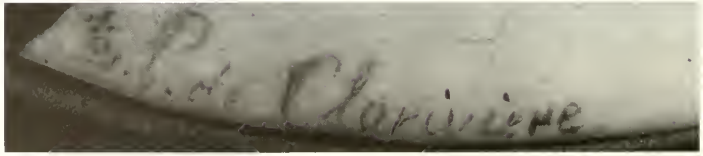

FIGURE 10A. Detail of signature and date.

FIGURE 11. Miniature portrait of Dr. Thomas Casey by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1807. Watercolor on ivory; HOA $2^{11}/_{16}$″; WOA 2⅛″. *MRF 8252; collection of Sophie Meldrim Shonnard, 1975.*

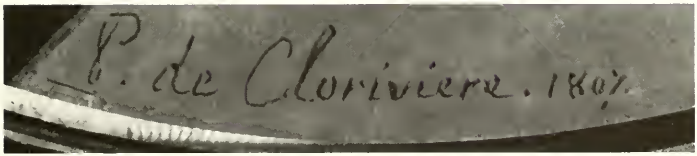

FIGURE 11A. Detail of signature and date.

in-law's expense. In the instance of Woodruff, Clorivière billed Chappedelaine $72.50, for two portraits at $25 apiece, and the repair of a third.[29]

During that same summer of 1805, Clorivière advertised his availability to paint portraits in Augusta and in Ashton, Georgia, for the first time. He also noted that he had "SOME ELEGANT PIECES OF Assorted Jewelry, to dispose of on very moderate terms."[30]

That year he painted an unknown lady *(figure 12)*, presumably of French birth. Portrayed showing off her wedding ring and wearing or holding roses at the high waist of her empire gown, her skin fairly glows as the artist makes successful use of ivory's particular virtue as a substrate. Although Clorivière paid great attention to the color and detail of her clothing in this portrait and her facial features are more fully modeled than in the portrait of Kimball *(figure 7)*, they still lack the confidence or competence that would be evidenced in his portrayal of Mrs. Felix Gilbert *(figure 13)* two years later. The portrait of the unknown woman, signed and dated 1805 on the front, carries on the reverse of its square papier mâché frame a handwritten note on paper, "Portrait d. ma Mère fait en 1806 par Chevalier de Limoëlan."[31] The difference in dates between that inscribed by the artist on the front of the portrait and that written on the card on the reverse of the frame by the subject's child is curious. If the author of the note were the child with whom the subject is pregnant at the time her portrait were painted, it is certainly possible that the child may have simply recorded the year of his or her birth, without recalling the portrait had been painted late in the previous year. At some date the miniature found its way back to France, perhaps when the subjects returned to their native country family following the Restoration. Or possibly the image was sent home as a reminder of one who remained an émigré in America.

Not far from Augusta, in Washington, Georgia, Clorivière undertook a remarkable series of portraits of three generations of women in the same family: Mrs. David Hillhouse (Sarah Porter) (1763–1831) *(figure 14)*, her daughter Mrs. Felix Gilbert (Sarah Hillhouse) (1782–1808) *(figure 13)*, and an unnamed daughter of Mrs. Felix Gilbert

FIGURE 12. Miniature portrait of an unknown lady by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768– d. 1826), 1805. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½″; WOA 2″. *MRF 29442; private collection, 2003.*

FIGURE 13.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. Felix Gilbert (Sarah Hillhouse) (b. 1782–d. 1808) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1807. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½″; WOA 2″. *Courtesy of Belmont, The Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia; MRF 6014.*

FIGURE 14.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. David Hillhouse (Sarah Porter) (b. 1763–d. 1831) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, file 575-11c (neg. 51260); collection of Sarah Alexander Cunningham, 1975.*

(figure 15). Sarah Porter Hillhouse is celebrated as the first woman newspaper editor in the state of Georgia. Born into a distinguished Massachusetts family, she married a Yale graduate who was a veteran of the Battle of Saratoga. Five years after their marriage in 1781, the couple relocated to the Georgia frontier where David embarked on a number of ventures, including work as a merchant, a public official, a partner in an iron foundry, and owner of the Washington newspaper. When he died in 1803, only two years after purchasing the paper, Sarah took over its management. Having suffered the death of her husband and three of her five children, Sarah Porter Hillhouse was later characterized as "aggressive in her business career, strong-minded and perhaps even domineering, yet respected and regarded well by family and associates."[32] This is precisely the woman we meet in Clorivière's portrait. Unique among his surviving portraits, Sarah Porter Hillhouse chose to be portrayed wearing eyeglasses. Her head is covered completely by a cap, her bust, shoulders, and neck up to her chin covered by a shawl.

By contrast, her daughter Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert *(figure 13)* chose to be portrayed in a low-cut, high-waisted dress of the Empire style. Clorivière obviously delighted in portraying the delicate lace of the bodice. Mrs. Gilbert's portrait was in fact one of Clorivière's most successful. Tragically his depiction of the subject's delicacy was to prove prophetic. She died the following year at the age of 25, the fourth of Sarah Porter Hillhouse's five children to precede their mother in death.

Mounted back-to-back in the same locket with Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert's portrait is Clorivière's miniature of her infant daughter *(figure 15)*. There the child is shown wearing a slightly more conservative version of her mother's dress, a necklace of coral, and carrying a doll. In contrast with his confident depiction of Mrs. Gilbert, Clorivière clearly struggled with the child's portrait. While the facial features are reasonably convincing, the awkward proportions of the head, neck, and chest reflect the difficulty the artist had depicting a moving target. Today the image survives as Clorivière's only known portrait of a small child.

FIGURE 15.
Miniature portrait of unknown Gilbert child, daughter of Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert, by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1807. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 1 7/8"; WOA 1 1/2". *Courtesy of Belmont, The Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia; MRF 6015.*

Exactly when and where Clorivière painted Josiah Heyward is unknown, but his portrait *(figure 16)* documents the artist's growing success in capturing a "true likeness." Heyward has a certain raffishness about him, with thick dark hair and eyebrows, a strong nose, and the suggestion of a short, but taunt body. Honesty rather than flattery seems to be the intent here. The subject's visage is not handsome, but it is memorable. Even less flattering was Clorivière's portrait of William Joyner *(figure 17)*, dated 1807. The South Carolina Justice of Quorum and vendue master is depicted with a double chin, pug nose, unfashionably short hair, and a receding hairline.

Clorivière's background as well as that of his subjects, exemplifies both the diversity and mobility of the South's population, at least those who could afford to have their portraits painted in the first years of the nineteenth century. While the artist's English may have been less than perfect, Clorivière's education and cosmopolitan manner could hardly have escaped notice, especially in the Backcountry.[33] His clientele were generally of the prospering merchant and professional class. In addition to having the means to engage an artist, their mobility made portable reminders of loved ones a popular acquisition or gift. As we have seen, Clorivière made the most of his association with attorneys in connection with his brother-in-law's property, using the contacts to obtain portrait commissions. Likewise, his responsibility to Chappedelaine brought him into contact with men of commerce, some of whom commissioned portraits. The artist's increasing use of newspaper advertisements in the years 1806 and 1807 resulted in a greater number of commissions as evidenced by a larger number of portraits surviving from those years.

Of Clorivière's more than two dozen known subjects, only one achieved enduring national fame—John Carroll, the nation's first Catholic bishop and archbishop (his portrait based on Clorivière's miniature is presented as *figure 18*).[34] Three of his other subjects were closely connected to well known individuals—John Berrien served as Attorney General of the United States during Andrew Jackson's first administration, John Wayles Eppes *(figure 19)* was the son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson, and Catherine Littlefield Greene Miller

FIGURE 16.
Miniature portrait of Josiah Heyward (b. 1775–d. 1819) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½"; WOA 2". *MRF 6014; collection of Thomas Heyward Gignilliat, 1975.*

FIGURE 17. Miniature portrait of William Joyner by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clotivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1807. Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½″; WOA 2 1/10″. *Courtesy of the Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc. 42.14.01, gift of Mrs. Ridgely Hunt; MRF 3455.*

FIGURE 18. Portrait of Archbishop John Carroll (b. 1735–d. 1815), undated, engraved by J. Sartain and published by John Murphy after a miniature portrait by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). *Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, acc. Z24.1286-1848.3.1.*

FIGURE 19. Miniature portrait of John Wayles Eppes (b. 1773–d. 1823) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of Monticello/Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, Virginia.*

was the spouse of Revolutionary War hero Nathaniel Green. Catherine Littlefield was twice widowed by the time Clorivière painted her. She was famous not only for being the wife of Nathaniel Green but also as the employer of Eli Whitney, who invented the cotton gin while he was serving as tutor to her children. Two versions of Clorivière's portrait miniature of Mrs. Green survive: one signed and dated 1806 *(figure 20)*, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; the other in the collection of the New Orleans Museum of Art *(figure 21)*. Both closely resemble an oil painting on panel of her, long attributed to James Frothingham, that is in the collection of the Telfair Museum of Art in Savannah (not illustrated).[35]

Clorivière worked as an artist in many of the same places he first traveled as steward of his brother-in-law's property. As a result, the journal of his account with Chappedelaine makes it possible to identify the approximate dates he was at certain places. Combined with the information gleaned from the advertisements he placed and the body of his work that survives, it appears probable that the largest portion of his work was executed in Savannah, Augusta, and the surrounding area during the period December 1803–February 1808.

Three surviving miniature portraits by Clorivière probably date from this busy period in Georgia. All three are signed but not dated; and all three are of businessmen known to have worked in Savannah or the nearby region. Thomas Mendenhall, Jr. *(figure 22)* was appointed cashier of the Bank of the United States in Savannah in 1808 but almost certainly sat for Clorivière prior to that appointment because the artist's records indicate Clorivière had left Georgia for Washington, DC, and Baltimore by that date.[36] Andrew Green Simpson Semmes *(figure 23)* died in Washington, Georgia, and had advertised in 1815 that he was a factor and business merchant.[37] Steele White *(figure 24)*, born in Virginia, was listed as a merchant in Savannah at the time of his death in the early 1820s.[38] During the time that Clorivière was in Georgia, White had advertised that he was continuing the business of merchant John Jackson with Jackson's widow.[39] It is possible that all three portraits were executed following

FIGURE 20.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Greene (Cathetine Littlefield) (b. 1755–d. 1814) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826), 1806. Watetcolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. 95.14.101. gift of Josephine and Sarah Lazarus, in memory of their father, 1895.*

FIGURE 21.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Greene (Catherine Littlefield) (b. 1755–d. 1814) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the New Orleans Museum of Art, acc. 16.164, gift of Mrs. Percy Roberts.*

FIGURE 22.
Miniature portrait of Thomas Mendenhall, Jr. (b. 1780–d. 1817) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, neg. 16811, collection of Thomas Mendenhall Finucan, Summerville, South Carolina, 1936, 1996.*

FIGURE 23.
Miniature portrait of Andrew Green Simpson Semmes (b. 1781–d. 1833) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2½″; WOA 2″. *MESDA acc. 2287.1, MRF 2671.*

FIGURE 24.
Miniature portrait of Steele White (b. 1784–d. 1823) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2 7/16″; WOA 2″. *Courtesy of the Telfair Museum of Art, Savannah, Georgia, bequest of Mary White Jackson, 1952; descended in the family of the subject; MRF 8307; Frick Art Reference Library neg. 51816.*

Clorivière's usual *modus operandi* of painting those associated with his brother-in-law's business; but it is just as likely that Clorivière had attracted these customers through his aforementioned advertisements in Georgia newspapers that began to appear in late 1803.[40]

The artist also advertised in Baltimore at least once, in 1806.[41] If he received his painting supplies from his sister in November 1803, it is unlikely that he painted during his extended trip to New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island earlier that year. However it is possible that he painted during trips he undertook for his brother-in-law to Louisville in December 1805, Marietta, Ohio, in July 1806, and Washington, DC, in February of 1807 and 1808. The latter two venues are particularly likely as we know he carried painting supplies with him in order to produce portraits of Chappedelaine's attorneys in those places.[42]

As noted earlier, Clorivière's first advertisement as a painter of portrait miniatures appeared in December 1803. The earliest known dated portrait was painted in 1805, the latest in 1807. His portrait of Archbishop John Carroll could date from the period 1808–1812, while Clorivière was in the seminary in Baltimore, or it may have been done in 1806 when Clorivière advertised in that city. John Wayles Eppes was serving in Congress in 1806 when Clorivière advertised in Washington, DC. Although there are three fine miniatures in the collection of the Gibbes Art Gallery in Charleston, there is no direct evidence that Clorivière painted portraits while serving as a pastor in that city between 1812 and 1819. As yet, it is unclear whether other portraits, such as that of Sherwood Haywood *(figure 25)* of Raleigh, North Carolina, and Mrs. Francisco Xavier Sanchez (Maria Del Carmen Hill) *(figure 26)* of St. Augustine, Florida, were painted in those towns, or when the subjects were traveling.

Databases constructed in recent years by independent scholar Carol Aiken and by MESDA suggest that while portrait miniaturists were numerous in Charleston, they were relatively uncommon in Savannah and Augusta during Clorivière's working years.[43] Following a pattern seen elsewhere, Clorivière advertised in Savannah in April 1807:

FIGURE 25.
Miniature portrait of Sherwood Haywood (b. 1762–d. 1829) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA $2^{13}/_{16}$"; WOA $2\frac{1}{4}$". *MRF 4618; collection of Mrs. Marshall De Lancey Haywood, 1963.*

FIGURE 26.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. Francisco Xavier Sanchez (Maria Del Carmen Hill) (b. 1775–d. 1814) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory; HOA 2 1/5"; WOA 1 1/5". *Courtesy of the Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc. 37.02.04, acquired with funds provided by the Victor Morawetz Fund; MRF 3454.*

MR. CLORIVIERE, lately returned to town, where he will stay but a few weeks, has taken a room above the store lately occupied by Mr. William Howe, close by Mr. Miller, in Gibbon's building, near the market (entrance by the back door), and will attend to the applications or those who favor him with their confidence, in his ability for taking LIKENESSES.[44]

Cornelius Schroeder, another painter of miniature portraits, advertised in July 1808 that he was lodging with Mrs. Longstreet in Augusta, in the room formerly occupied by Clorivière.[45]

In both his advertisements and in his account with his brother-in-law, Clorivière's charge of twenty-five dollars per miniature remained constant throughout his working period. Frames and presumably elaborate hair work were available for an additional cost. During the same period, Cornelius Schroeder advertised his work for fifteen dollars per portrait miniature, while Edward Greene Malbone, arguably the nation's finest miniaturist, received fifty dollars per portrait.[46] It appears from Clorivière's account of his affairs with Chappedelaine that Clorivière drew a commission for his work on behalf of his brother-in-law, but that fact and the amount are unclear. Certainly the artist was handling significant sums of money, totaling in excess of $15,000 during the five years he was also painting. For a time Clorivière shows a balance due him from his brother-in-law (debits exceeding credits) of more than $1,000 for which he charged 6 percent interest. Likewise, he assessed himself 6 percent interest when he borrowed from Chappedelaine's account for a $1,200 payment to the seminary in July 1808. After returning from his visit to France in 1815, Clorivière appears to have drawn an annual allowance from Chappedelaine, perhaps for properties settled upon his sister and brother-in-law.[47] In any event, it seems probable that Clorivière relied upon painting as a source for part, but not all of his income. While his portraits never approached the quality of those by more accomplished contemporaries such as Malbone, they certainly rose above the level of the naïve.

Researchers visiting the Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives are told that on his deathbed Clorivière directed the sisters to burn his papers. Following his instructions, essentially all but the accounts of his financial affairs with Chappedelaine, the seminary in Baltimore, and with the Monastery were destroyed. His motives can only be guessed at, although it is plausible that he wished to be remembered in this country for his work at the Monastery rather than for the tumultuous years of his youth in France or his pastorate in Charleston. Still, the two dozen known signed examples of his work testify to the pride he once took in his artistic achievement. Indeed he is one of only a small percentage of miniature artists working in America during the opening years of the nineteenth century for whom a significant body of signed work survives.

While the first portion of Clorivière's life is recounted in detail by various nineteenth-century French authors including Chateaubriand, several historians, and at least one novelist, none of them makes reference to Clorivière's subsequent career. Nor is there evidence that Clorivière's American contemporaries were aware of his extraordinary past. His deathbed instruction to burn his personal papers suggests that he wished to keep separate the various parts of his life. For almost a century he was successful. By the late nineteenth century the connection between the French counter-revolutionary Limoëlan and the American priest Clorivière had been made, but without reference to his career as an artist.[48] Professor Frederick Caesar de Sumichrast of Harvard established that link in 1903.[49] Pierre Marique published the connection between the French counter-revolutionary, the artist, and the priest in 1915, with additional details but little documentation and no reference to Professor Sumichrast's work. Unfortunately Marique opened his article with the unsubstantiated assertion that Clorivière entered the country under the pseudonym Guitry.[50] In 1938, Richard Cain Madden effectively refuted Marique's claim that Clorivière used the name Guitry. Rather he pointed out that Joseph-Pierre went by the name

Clorivière when he entered the country in the company of his sister. Unfortunately Madden's work was never published. When Anna Wells Rutledge followed Marique in applying the pseudonym Guitry to Clorivière in her 1949 article, it became ensconced in annals of art history. Subsequent catalogs and lists of painters have associated the names Picot, Clorivière, and Guitry. No portrait miniature has been found with the signature "Guitry." If one were to surface, it would have to be analyzed closely on stylistic grounds, for there is no evidence that Clorivière ever used this name.

Clorivière's work was first publicly exhibited when his portrait of Mrs. William Taylor (Mary Elizabeth Miller) *(figure 27)* appeared in the National Gallery of Art's *Exhibition of Early American Paintings and Miniatures,* December 1925–January 1926, although at the time it was attributed to James Peale.[52] A second portrait miniature (Mrs. William Miller [Mary Ann Belinda O'Keefe], *figure 28),* displayed at the Corcoran Museum of Art in the 1930s, eventually entered the collection of the Carolina Art Association after being correctly identified by the latter museum's staff in 1938.[53] Also, perhaps as a result of Rutledge's work, in 1938 the Metropolitan Museum of Art reattributed to Clorivière two miniatures in its collection that had previously been ascribed to François-Edmund Picot.[54] Since then Clorivière's work has been exhibited and published occasionally, most notably by the Carolina Art Association and in the National Society of Colonial Dames's volumes of early Georgia and North Carolina portraits.[55] Examples of his work are today held in public collections in Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and New York.[56] His influence, but not his paintings can be seen in the District of Columbia where he exerted a pivotal influence on the spirituality, curriculum, and architecture of the Georgetown Visitation Monastery.

STEPHEN C. WORSLEY, *a physician-turned-priest, currently serves as Vicar for Clergy in the Diocese of Raleigh. He is actively engaged in the restoration of historic structures in eastern North Carolina, and has lectured on Bioethics in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America.*

FIGURE 27.
Miniature portrait of Mrs. William Taylor (Mary Clayton Miller) (b. 1774–d. 1845 or 1846) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, neg. 3614b, collection of Mrs. John Holme Ballantine, New York City, 1951.*

FIGURE 28. Miniature portrait of Mrs. William White (Mary Ann Belinda O'Keefe) by Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (b. 1768–d. 1826). Watercolor on ivory. *Courtesy of the Gibbes Museum of Art/ Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc. 72.10.01, bequest of Mrs. W. E. Simms.*

1. Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), pp. 159–176.

2. Richard Cain Madden, *Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière, 1768–1826* (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1938).

3. In Catholic usage, "monastery" can refer to the cloistered residence of either men or women. Georgetown Visitation Monastery is a cloistered residence of nuns. The author wishes to express appreciation for unrestricted access to four boxes of Clorivière's papers that have been carefully catalogued by archivist Sr. Mada-anne Gell, VHM, and for her insights into the artist's life and work at the Georgetown Visitation Monastery; to the staff at MESDA whose work and encouragement were indispensable in the research for and preparation of this article; for the researchers who have compiled the Smithsonian Institution Art Inventories (SIRIS) and the files at the Frick Art Reference Library; to conservator and scholar Carol Aiken for her insights; and for the generous help of the curators of the public collections holding Clorivière's work.

4. Clorivière journal entry for 27 March 1807 regarding a charge of $50 to Chappedelaine for portraits of Mr. Gilman of Marietta, Ohio, and W. H. Winder of Marietta, Ohio, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f25.

5. Clorivière retained three drafts of his account with Chappedelaine for the years 1803–1808: Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f615; RG III, S7, B1, f612; and another also numbered RG III, S7, B1 f 612. Since most of the artist's papers were destroyed at the time of his death, the journal Clorivière kept of stewardship for Chappedelaine provides a valuable record of activity and travel during the years he worked as a portrait miniaturist. While the drafts vary in completeness, they are complimentary and often supplement each other in the information given. Payments to John Berrien for various legal services are first recorded on 1 November 1805, although that entry is described as "an additional fee" suggesting an earlier as yet undiscovered payment.

The portrait of Mrs. John Berrien (1759–1815), *figure 2*, is possibly the same portrait identified as Mrs. John Aloysius Casey (Sarah Lowndes Berrien) (1778–1822) illustrated in the National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 313. See Appendix B for further discussion about the identity of the sitter in this portrait.

Additional portraits of Berrien's family include: (a) Dr. John Aloysius Casey, *figure 10*, son-in-law of John Berrien who lived in Petersburg, Virginia, as well as Washington, Augusta, and Savannah, Georgia and died of yellow fever in 1819; and (b) Dr. Thomas Casey, *figure 11*, brother of John Aloysius Casey, practiced medicine in Savannah, Georgia, and Mobile, Alabama.

6. Op cit, 8 June 1805, two pottraits for Woodruff (attorney), $72.50; one for an unnamed person, February 1806, $25; July 1806, Gilman of Marietta, Ohio, $25; February 1807, William H. Winder of Washington, DC, $25; 7 February 1808, Merre, $25.

7. Clorivière, "Mon Compte avec J. B. de Chappedelaine depuis 1821," Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f31.

8. The uncle, Pierre-Joseph Picot de Clorivière (1735–1820), and the artist, Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière (1768–1826), are easily confused due to the similarity of their names. It is helpful to keep in mind the difference of birth and death dates, and the fact that while both men were priests, only the uncle was a Jesuit (a member of the Society of Jesus). The artist became a priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Jacques Terrien, *Histoire du R. P. de Clorivière, de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Possielgue, 1892); François Morlot, *Pierre de Clorivière*, (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1990).

9. We are indebted to François René de Chateaubriand, the famous French writer, for details of his roommate's early life. His work was subsequently cited by both Richard Cain Madden and Anna Wells Rutledge. The following passage comes from Chateaubriand's memoir:

> Je rencontrai à ce collège deux hommes devenus depuis différemment célèbres : Moreau le général, et Limoëlan, auteur de la machine infernale, aujourd'hui prêtre en Amérique. Il n'existe qu'un portrait de Lucile, et cette méchante miniature a été faite par Limoëlan, devenu peintre pendant les détresses révolutionnaires. Moreau était externe, Limoëlan pensionnaire. On a rarement trouvé à la même époque, dans une même province, dans une même petite ville, dans une même maison d'éducation, des destinées aussi singulières. Je ne puis m'empêcher de raconter un tour d'écolier que joua au préfet de semaine mon camarade Limoëlan (Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, Edmond Brié, ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1861–1865) vol. I, Livre II, p. 110).

Clorivière's roommate, General Jean-Victor Moreau, immigrated to the United States in 1805 after being accused of a plot against Napoleon. He returned to die fighting against Napoleon during the Russian campaign.

10. Richard Cain Madden, *Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière, 1768–1826*, (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1938).

11. *Chatham County, Georgia, Superior Court Deeds, Vol. XI*, 1802–1803, p. 300, 16 February 1803. Clorivière describes Chappedelaine as living in Europe, *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 22 April 1803.

12. Details of payments for travel and attorneys may be found in the various drafts of Clorivière's account with Chappedelaine, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612. John Marshall's decision in the second case may be found in 8 U.S. 306. Citizenship papers for Clorivière issued in Superior Court, Chatham County, Georgia, 4 January 1808, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f10.

13. Picot de Clorivière to Bishop John Carroll, 6 December 1803; Item 2Q2, Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives. Stephen C. Worsley, "Catholicism in Antebellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (October 1983), pp. 399–430.

14. Rutledge follows Marique in giving 1807 as the year Clorivière received tonsure, a step towards ordination normally taken after entering seminary. By contrast the Registrar's Book at St. Mary's lists Clorivière as having entered the Seminary on 9 April 1808 and having received tonsure on 18 March 1809. The later dates fit more closely with the details of Clorivière's life outlined in his surviving business records. The Registrar's Book lists 14 March 1812 as the date of Clorivière's ordination as a deacon. Clorivière may have been ordained a priest immediately thereafter as was sometimes the custom. The Registrar's book gives 7 December, although it is unclear whether this date is intended to be associated with his priesthood ordination or with his appointment as pastor of the parish in Charleston. In any event, we know from his correspondence that Clorivière was already a priest in Charleston by that date. Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 165; Pierre Marique, "Joseph Picot de la Clorivière," *U. S. Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies*, III (1915), p. 205; *St. Mary's Seminary Registrar's Book*, p. 13, Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary & University, Baltimore, Maryland.

15. J.P. Clorivière to Archbishop John Carroll, 16 November 1812, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* Vol. XXIII (22 April 1903), p. 1.

16. Here the reference to "republicans" reflects the anti-monarchial nature of the early-nineteenth-century Irish. For a discussion of Trusteeism, see Peter Guilday, *The Life and*

Times of John England: First Bishop of Charleston, 1786–1842 (New York: The America Press, 1927), v. 1, pp. 143–334; Peter Clarke, *A Free Church in a Free Society: The Ecclesiology of John England, Bishop of Charleston, 1820–1842, A Nineteenth Century Missionary Bishop in The Southern United States* (Hartsville, South Carolina: Center for John England Studies, 1982).

17. Clorivière returned from France with a handsome miniature painting of the *Madonna and Child*, possibly by Gaspare Landi (Italian, 1756–1830), the gift of Marina Fortunée of the Visitation Monastery. Ann Bibley Robertson, *An Enduring Legacy, The Painting Collection of Georgetown Visitation* (Washington: Georgetown Visitation Monastery, 2000), pp. 80–81.

18. Groce and Wallace err in describing this as the *Jesuit* Monastery of the Visitation. Although the Jesuits have a college nearby, the institutions have always been entirely distinct. G. C. Groce and D. H. Wallace, eds., *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale, 1957), p. 132.

19. For Clorivière's detailed account of payments for materials, hauling of timber, plasterers, brick masons, etc., see Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B4, f15, pp. 1–16.

20. *Chatham County, Georgia, Superior Court Deeds, Vol. XI*, 1802–1803, p. 300, 16 February 1803.

21. The advertisement cost Chappedelaine two dollars. Presumably Clorivière paid a similar amount when he advertised his services as a painter of miniature portraits in the same paper later that year. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, March 1803.

22. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 22 April 1803.

23. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 10 December 1803. The customs of itinerant artists and their struggle to find accommodations and patronage in the South are detailed in Mona L. Dearborn, "Guy Atkinson and the Itinerant Artists of Fairfax Street, Alexandria," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* (Vol. 22, No. 1 [Summer 1996]), pp. 1–41.

24. Chateaubriand, *Mémories d'Outre Tombe*, Edmuond Brié, ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères) v. I, Livre II, pp. 110–111.

25. The miniature in *figure 7* has a record of descent within the subject's family and is engraved on the reverse of the rose-gold case.

26. Kimball and Charles Rockwell advertised on behalf of the Commission of Pilotage for "Proposals . . . for building a Boat to receive and carry away what may be raised by the mud Machine employed in improving the navigation of the Savannah River." *The Morning Chronicle*, Savannah, Georgia, 7 December 1818. Savannah Register of Deaths, p. 25, 17 July 1819.

27. Carol Aiken, Conservation Report, September 2001, MESDA Research File (MRF) 29441.

> Inside the case two pieces of playing cards fill the rear, one is cut from an eight of diamonds, the other from a queen of diamonds. The word "Head" is written in pencil over the face of the queen, and also scratched at the top of the case back in what appears to be the same hand. The miniature is painted on thicker than average ivory. Three thin wove paper backings are attached to the rear of the ivory. The closest is glued smoothly to the rear of the ivory except the area behind the face and shirt. A shallow blister has formed in the area where there is no adhesive. No foil is present, nor does there appear to be painted reinforcement on the rear. The second paper is attached loosely to the first. It has numerous strokes of color on the back. The third is partially attached to the second. It is covered on the back with a soft tissue-like paper that apparently was used to bind the cover glass over the painting, in place of the more common goldbeater's skin binding. This is significant, since the same paper was found on the rear of the portrait of

the unknown woman received for treatment with this piece, which was painted in the same year. A similar use of paper associated with other miniatures, especially those without signatures, may assist in the identification of unsigned examples.

The other portrait is that of an unnamed woman *(figure 12)*, further discussed in endnote 31.

28. Born 1777, in Fairfield, Connecticut, Sturges moved to Savannah in 1803, where he engaged in a business partnership with Benjamin Burroughs. Sturges was one-third owner of the steamship *Savannah*. National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 296; Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995) pp. 67, 102.

29. The other portraits were John Berrien and an unnamed attorney, February 1806; Gillman of Marietta, Ohio, July 1806; William H. Winder of Washington, DC, and a Mr. Merre (sp?), February 1807.

30. *Augusta Herald*, Augusta, Georgia, 29 August 1805, p. 1.

31. This is the only one of Clorivière's known portraits with a papier mâché frame. The inscription indicates that the child of the subject, whether in the United States or France, associated the name Limoëlan with the artist.

32. Wallace B. Eberhard, "Hillhouse, Sarah Porter," in Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography, Volume I* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1983), pp. 445–457.

33. One of Clorivière's early purchases when he entered the seminary in 1808 was a copy of *Murray's English Grammar*, for which he paid one dollar. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f33.

34. John Carroll, 1735–1815, the first Bishop and Archbishop of Baltimore. Clorivière's portrait of him is known from two engravings, one drawn by Albert Newsam after the painting by Clorivière and published by John T. Green in 1837; the other engraved by J. Sartain and published by John Murphy, undated (shown as *figure 18*). Both images show the Cathedral in Baltimore designed by Benjamin Latrobe in the background.

35. The frame of the oil portrait of Mrs. Green in the collection of the Telfair Museum of Art (not illustrated) is inscribed on the verso, "PORTRAIT OF MRS. NATHANAEL GREEN/ after Gilbert Stuart/ by FROTHINGHAM." Published in Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 40–42, and in National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 85.

36. *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Savannah, Georgia, 4 October 1808.

37. *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Savannah, Georgia, 14 November 1815.

38. Register of Deaths, Savannah, Georgia, 19 January 1823, p. 147.

39. *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Savannah, Georgia, 19 January 1808.

40. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 10 December 1803.

41. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, Maryland, 21 October 1806.

42. Gilman in Marietta and Wm. H. Winder in Washington, DC, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

43. MESDA's *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans;* Carol Aiken to the author, 2 June 2001.

44. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 10 April 1807.

45. *Augusta Chronicle*, Augusta, Georgia, 30 July 1808.

46. *The North Carolina Journal*, Halifax, North Carolina, 20 October 1806; *Raleigh Register*, Raleigh, North Carolina, 17 November 1806. Ruel Pardee Tolman, *The Life and Works of Edward Green Malbone, 1777–1807* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1958), p. 167.

47. "Mon Compte avec J. B. de Chappedelaine depuis 1821," Georgetown Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f31.

48. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: Appleton & Co, revised edition, 1888), vol. 1, p. 662.

49. Professor Sumichrast to Sr. M. de Chantal Kemp, 16 June 1903, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B2, f3.

50. Pierre Marique, "Joseph Picot de la Clorivière," *U. S. Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies,* III (1915), pp. 194–208. In addition to connecting the French and American aspects of Clorivière's life, Marique illustrates a bust of the artist on the first page of his article.

51. See for example, G. C. Groce and D. H. Wallace, eds., *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale, 1957), p. 132; Leo R. Schidlof, *The Miniature in Europe in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries,* 4 vols. (Switzerland: Granz, 1964); and Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), p. 38. Further confusion is evident in a catalog entry for "Joseph Pierre Picot de le Mondlas [sic] de Clorivière (French, 1768–1826)" where the author asserts it is unclear whether the artist and French conspirator are the same person. Published in Lee Langston-Harrison, *A Presidential Legacy* (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The James Monroe Museum, 1977), p. 35. The miniature portrait (signed Picot; shown in *figure 20)* of Mrs. Nathaniel Green donated to the Metropolitan Museum in 1888 was attributed to Francois Picot until 1938.

52. According to the records of the Frick Art Reference Library (3641B), the work was reattributed to Clorivière by Anna Wells Rutledge in 1938. While some of Mrs. Rutledge's attributions are now considered problematic, this painting is remarkably consistent with Clorivière's work.

53. In a letter to Mrs. Finley Calvert (the owner) dated 26 May 1936, C. Powell Minnigerode, Director, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, refers to a visit by the Carolina Art Association's Director, Robert Whitelaw, saying that "they" have identified the work as by Clorivière. He then included further information on Clorivière supplied by Rutledge. Minnigerode to Calvert, 26 May 1936, copy in the curatorial files of the Gibbes Art Gallery.

54. Curatorial files, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

55. *An Exhibition of Miniatures Owned in South Carolina and Miniatures of South Carolinians Owned Elsewhere, Painted Before the Year 1860* (Charleston, South Carolina: Carolina Art Association, 1936); *An Exhibition of Virginia Miniatures,* 3 December 1941–5 January 1942 (Richmond, Virginia: The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) pp. 16–17; Anna Wells Rutledge, "Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), pp. 159–175; Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association* (Charleston, South Carolina: Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984), p. 110; National Society of Colonial Dames in North Carolina, *The North Carolina Portrait Index* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 110; National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), pp. 275, 281, 283, 296, 299, 307, 313; Carolyn J. Weekley, "Artists Working in the South, 1750–1820," *The Magazine Antiques* (November 1976), p. 1053; *Tokens of Affection, The Portrait Miniature in America* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990); Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 25, 30, 38 42, 67, 102.

56. See Appendix B.

APPENDIX A

A Chronology of Clorivière's Travels and Places of Work

1768	Nov. 4	Brittany, France	Clorivière is born the son of a nobleman[1]
1800	Dec. 24	Paris, France	Clorivière attempts to assassinate Napoleon[2]
1802		Savannah (?)	Clorivière arrives in Georgia from France
1803	Feb. 16	Savannah	Chappedelaine appoints his brother-in-law Clorivière to be his attorney[3]
	April 3, 14	Savannah	Clorivière advertises the sale of 1,000 acres of Sapelo Island for Chappedelaine who has returned to Europe[4]
	June 13– Nov. 29		Clorivière travels for Chappedelaine: New York, NY Morristown, NJ Providence, RI[5]
	Nov. 29	Savannah	Clorivière receives package (painting supplies?) from his sister in Bordeaux[6]
	Dec. 6	Savannah	Clorivière writes the Bishop of Baltimore concerning the needs of the Catholics in Savannah[7]
	Dec. 10	Savannah	Clorivière advertises availability to paint miniature portraits for $25 on Broughton Street opposite the Courthouse[8]
1804	April 3	Savannah	Clorivière submits advertisement, published on May 29, regarding Sapelo Island land for sale on June 5[9]
1805	June 8		Clorivière paints two portraits for Chappedelaine's attorney, Woodruff[10]
	Aug. 15	Augusta	Clorivière advertises availability to paint portraits[11]
	Dec.	Louisville, KY	Clorivière attends federal court[12]

1806	Jan.	Savannah	Clorivière paints portrait of Chappedelaine's attorney, John Berrien[11]
	Feb.		Clorivière paints portrait of Chappedelaine's attorney (name not known)
	April 12	Savannah	Clorivière advertises availability to paint portraits on Broughton Street; notes that he will leave town in three weeks[14]
	April 30		Clorivière appoints Jacques Phillippe Rossignot as attorney for his brother-in-law[15]
	Oct. 21	Baltimore	Clorivière advertises his availability to paint "likenesses" on 2nd Street at Bannermans, two doors from the Phoenix Insurance Company[16]
	?	Ohio	Clorivière travels to Ohio for his brother-in-law, paints Chappedelaine's attorney, Gilman, in Marietta[17]
1807	Feb.–Mar.	Washington, DC	Clorivière attends Supreme Court session[18]
	Feb.	Washington, DC	Clorivière paints Chappedelaine's attorney, Wm. H. Winder for $25[19]
	Feb. 7	Washington, DC	Clorivière paints Chappedelaine's attorney, Mêrre (Mênne?)[20]
	April 10	Savannah	Clorivière advertises return and availability to paint for the next few weeks in room lately occupied by Wm. Howe[21]
	June 25, 27	Augusta	Clorivière advertises "Miniature Painting" at Thomas Burdell's before going upcountry[22]
	Oct. 24	Augusta	Clorivière advertises availability to paint at Mr. Bouyer's house for the next few days[23]

	Dec. 31		Receives payment to Chappedelaine's account[24]
1808	Jan. 4		Clorivière receives citizenship[25]
	Jan.–Feb.	Washington, DC	Clorivière attends Supreme Court session[26]
	April 9	Baltimore	Clorivière enters St. Mary Seminary[27]
1808–1812		Baltimore	Clorivière attends St. Mary Seminary[28]
1812		Baltimore	Clorivière ordained a Roman Catholic priest
	Oct.–Nov.		Clorivière stops on his way to Charleston in Richmond, VA, for three weeks to minister; Petersburg, VA, for three days to minister; and Fayetteville, NC, for one (?) week[29]
1812–1819		Charleston	Clorivière serves as pastor of St. Mary Church
1815		France	Clorivière returns for a visit to France[30]
1819–1826		Georgetown, DC	Clorivière serves as confessor, architect, and contractor for the Visitation Monastery[31]
1826	Sept. 29	Georgetown, DC	Clorivière dies and is buried at the Visitation Monastery
1829		Richmond County, GA	Clorivière's will is registered[32]

NOTES

1. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, Edmond Brié, ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1861–1865) vol. I, Livre II, p. 110.

2. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, Edmond Brié, ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1861–1865) vol. II, p. 110.

3. *Chatham County, Georgia, Superior Court Deeds*, Vol. XI, 1802–1803, p. 300, 16 February 1803.

4. Clorivière placed advertisements on 3 April 1803 in the *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer* (Savannah, Georgia, published 29 May 1803), and 14 April 1803 in the *Columbian*

Museum and Savannah Advertiser (Savannah, Georgia, published 22 April 1803). NB: where the newspaper publishes the date an advertisement was submitted that is different from the newspaper's date of publication, the submission date is given in the Appendix above, and the date of publication is supplied in the corresponding note.

5. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612, and RG III, S7, B1, f615.

6. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612, and RG III, S7, B1, f615.

7. Clorivière to Bishop John Carroll, 6 December 1803; Item 2Q2, Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives.

8. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 10 December 1803.

9. *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer*, Savannah, Georgia, published 29 May 1804.

10. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

11. *Augusta Herald*, Augusta, Georgia, published 29 August 1805.

12. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

13. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

14. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 12 April 1806.

15. *Chatham County, Georgia, Superior Court Deeds, Vol. 2B, 1807–1809*, p. 164, 30 April 1806.

16. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, Maryland, 21 October 1806.

17. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612, and RG III, S7, B1, f615.

18. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

19. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

20. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

21. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Georgia, 10 April 1807.

22. *Augusta Herald*, Augusta, Georgia, 25 June 1807; *Columbian Sentinel*, Savannah, Georgia, 27 June 1807; and *Augusta Chronicle*, Augusta, Georgia, 27 June 1807.

23. *Augusta Chronicle*, Augusta, Georgia, 24 October 1807.

24. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

25. Citizenship papers for Clorivière were issued in Superior Court, Chatham County, Georgia, 4 January 1808, Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f10.

26. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f612.

27. See endnote 14 of the article for a discussion of this date.

28. For Clorivière's account at St. Mary Seminary, see Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f33.

29. Clorivière to Archbishop John Carroll, 16 November 1812, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* Vol. XXIII (22 April 1903), p. 1.

30. Clorivière's passport may be found in Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B1, f6.

31. Clorivière's record of his account with the Monastery while he served as its general contractor, 1819–1824, may be found in Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives, RG III, S7, B4, f15, pp. 1–16.

32. Clorivière's will was signed 12 May 1826 in Georgetown, DC, *Richmond County Wills*, Georgia, Book A, p. 302, July Term 1829.

APPENDIX B

Portraits by Clorivière

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO CLORIVIÈRE

BENTON, FREDERICK
(figure 9)
Signed: "Picot"
On the reverse, a crystal window reveals a lock of hair and seed pearls that spell out "FB" in script.
Collection of the James Monroe Law Office, Fredericksburg, Virginia, acc. JM 76.241.
Illustrated: Lee Langston-Harrison, *A Presidential Legacy* (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The James Monroe Museum, 1997), p. 35.

Benton is supposed to have been James Monroe's aide-de-camp during the American Revolution, although Langston-Harrison notes, "no reference can be found to substantiate the fact that Monroe . . . ever had an aide. . . . No records of Frederick Benton can be located to verify who he was or whether he was even in the Revolution."

MESDA Research File (MRF) 6000

BERRIEN, JN, probably John MacPherson Berrien (b. 1781–d. 1856)
Painted: January 1806
Current whereabouts unknown
Recorded in Clorivière's record of his account of Chappedelaine, where he noted a charge of $25 for the portrait and $36 for an elegant medallion. Georgetown Visitation Monastery Archives RG III, S7, B1, f25.

Son of John and Margaret MacPherson Berrien. Practiced law in Savannah beginning 1799. Served as a colonel in the War of 1812, in the United States Senate, 1824–1829, 1841–1852, and as Attorney General of the United States, 1829–1831. Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., Dictionary of Georgia Biography, Volume I. *(Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 74–75.*

BERRIEN, MRS. JOHN
(figure 2)
Signed: "P. de Cl" under frame
Painted: c. 1806
Descended in family to present owner, 1978.

The identity of this portrait is problematic. In MRF 8254 it is identified as "Berrien, Mrs. John (nee Williamina Sarah Eliza Moore) (1759–1815)," and recorded in 1978 as still being in the possession of the family in which it descended. The elder John Berrien (1760–1815) was married to Margaret MacPherson who gave birth to their son John MacPherson Berrien in

1781. However, the portrait, which was probably painted c. 1806, appears to be of a woman in her twenties. John MacPherson Berrien (1781–1856) was married on 1 December 1803 to Eliza Anciaux who died in 1828. Williamina Moore was the eighth child of this union. If the portrait is of a Mrs. John Berrien, it is most likely of the first Mrs. John MacPherson Berrien (nee Eliza Anciaux). Or possibly this is the same portrait listed (but not illustrated) as being "Berrien, Sarah Lowndes, 1778–1822," who married Dr. John Aloysius Casey (see entry below for Mrs. John Aloysius Casey). Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., Dictionary of Georgia Biography, Volume I, *(Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1983), pp. 74–75.*

MRF 8254

CARROLL, ARCHBISHOP JOHN (b. 1735–d. 1815)
Current whereabouts unknown
Clorivière's portrait is documented by two engravings that are based upon it, one drawn by Albert Newsam and published by John T. Green in 1837, the other "painted by I. P. de C, engraved by J. Sartain" and published by John Murphy of Baltimore, undated (presented as *figure 18*). The first is illustrated in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 163.

John Carroll, a native of Maryland, was the first bishop and archbishop to serve in the United States, being appointed to the newly erected see of Baltimore. He ordained Clorivière a priest in 1812.

CASEY, DR. JOHN ALOYSIUS (b. 1781–d. 1819)
(figure 10)
Signed: "1807 P. de Cloriviere"
Collection of Sophie Meldrim Shonnard, 1975.
Illustrated: In National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 275.

John Aloysius Casey was described in his obituary as a native of Maryland. In 1801 he announced his move from Maryland to Georgia, where he intended to practice physic and surgery in Petersburg. He moved his practice to Washington, Georgia, in 1805. He married Sarah L. Berrien, daughter of Major Berrien, in Louisville, Georgia, in December 1809. John MacPherson Berrien was administrator of his estate. Augusta Chronicle & Gazette, *Augusta, Georgia, 6 June 1801;* Monitor, *Washington, Georgia, 24 August 1805;* Savannah Republican, *Savannah, Georgia, 9 September 1819; Chatham County Inventories & Appraisals, 1814–1820, p. 204, 25 February 1820.*

MRF 8253

CASEY, MRS. JOHN ALOYSIUS (Sarah Lowndes Berrien) (b. 1778–d. 1822)
Collection of Sophie Meldrim Shonnard, 1975.
Listed, but not illustrated, as Sarah Lowndes Berrien (in National Society of Colonial

Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* [Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975], p. 313).

Sarah Lowndes Berrien, daughter of Major John Berrien (1760–1815) and the sister of John MacPherson Berrien (1781–1856), married Dr. John Aloysius Casey in 1809. Augusta Chronicle, *Augusta, Georgia, 23 December 1809.*

CASEY, DR. THOMAS
(figure 11)
Signed: "P. de Cloriviere, 1807"
Collection of Sophie Meldrim Shonnard, 1975.
Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 275.

Brother of Dr. John Casey, the subject of this portrait practiced medicine in Savannah, then later in Mobile, Alabama.

MRF 8252

DEAS?
Signed on the back: "Clorivieres, Ppt"
Collection of Thomas H. Gignilliat, Savannah, 1936.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, 1936.

EPPES, JOHN WAYLES (b. 1773–d. 1823)
(figure 19)
Signed: "Picot"
Collection of Monticello/Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, Virginia; purchased 1963 from a descendent of the subject.

John Wayles Eppes represented Virginia in the United States House of Representatives (1803–1811, 1813–1815) and the United States Senate (1817–1819). He was married to Maria Jefferson (d. 1804), second daughter of Thomas Jefferson.

GILBERT, MRS. FELIX (Sarah Hillhouse) (b. 1782–d. 1808)
(figure 13)
Signed: "P. de Cloriviere 1807"
Collection of Belmont, The Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia.
Conserved by Carol Aiken, 1998.
Exhibited: Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941, lent by Mrs. Corinne L. Melchers.
Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 281.
Listed but not illustrated in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Archi-

tect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

Sarah Hillhouse Porter, of Washington, Georgia, was the daughter of David Hillhouse and Sarah Porter (1763–1832). She married Felix Gilbert of Virginia in 1802. See further discussion of this portrait in the accompanying article.

MRF 6014; Frick Art Reference Library file 575-11D.

GILBERT, DAUGHTER OF SARAH
(figure 15)
Signed: "P. de Cloriviere, 1807"
Collection of Belmont, The Gari Melchers Estate and Memorial Gallery, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia.
Exhibited: Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941, lent by Mrs. Corinne L. Melchers.
Conserved by Carol Aiken, 1998.
Listed but not illustrated in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

This portrait of the daughter of Sarah Gilbert is mounted back to back with the portrait of her mother. See further discussion in the accompanying article. The child married Adam Leopold Alexander.

MRF 6015

GILMAN
Painted: July 1806 in Marietta, Ohio
Current whereabouts unknown.

The existence of this portrait is documented in Clorivière's journal, where he records charging Chappedelaine $25 for painting it.

GREEN, MRS. NATHANIEL (Catherine Littlefield) (b. 1755–d. 1814)
(figure 20)
Signed: "Picot, 1806"
Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. 95.14.101, gift of Josephine and Sarah Lazarus, in memory of their father, 1895.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, 1936; Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Four Centuries of Miniature Painting," 1950.
Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 165.

Caty Littlefield was twice widowed when this portrait was painted. She had married Nathaniel Greene (1742–1786) in 1774, and Phineas Miller (1765–1803) in 1796. For a fur-

ther discussion of this remarkable woman, see the entry accompanying a related oil portrait of her, attributed to James Frothingham (1786–1863) in Page Talbott, Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840 *(Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 32, 41–42. Originally attributed to François-Edmond Picot, this work was reattributed to Clorivière in 1938, perhaps as a result of the work of Anna Wells Rutledge. A similar portrait by Clorivière, in the collection of the New Orleans Museum of Art is listed below.*

Frick Art Reference Library file 575-11b

GREEN, MRS. NATHANIEL (Catherine Littlefield) (b. 1755–d. 1814)
(figure 21)
Signed: "Picot"
Collection of the New Orleans Museum of Art, acc. 16.164, gift of Mrs. Percy Roberts.

A second portrait of Catherine Littlefield Green Miller by Clorivière. See the above entry for the other.

HAYWOOD, SHERWOOD (b. 1762–d. 1829)
(figure 25)
Signed: "Picot"
Collection of Mrs. Marshall De Lancey Haywood, 1963.
Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in North Carolina, *The North Carolina Portrait Index* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 110.

Son of William and Charity Hare Haywood, Sherwood was born in Edgecombe County, North Carolina. He moved to Raleigh in 1800, where he served as agent for the Bank of Newbern from 1804, when it received its charter, until his death in 1829. William S. Powell, ed., Dictionary of North Carolina Biography, Volume III *(Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 88.*

MRF 4618

HEYWARD, JOSIAH (b. 1775–d. 1819)
(figure 16)
Signed on back, not visible in frame.
Collection of Thomas Heyward Gignilliat, 1975.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, 1936.
Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Clorivière," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 167; National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 283.

Son of Thomas Heyward of South Carolina, Josiah Heyward married Anne Gignilliat in 1802, and resided in Beaufort County, Georgia.

MRF 8285

HILLHOUSE, MRS. DAVID (Sarah Porter) (b. 1763–d. 1831)
(figure 14)
Signed: "P. de Cloriviere"
Collection of Sarah Alexander Cunningham, 1975.
Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 283.

Born in Massachusetts, married in 1781, she moved with her husband to Georgia in 1786 or 1787. After her husband's death in 1803, she became the first woman newspaper publisher in Georgia. See entries for Gilbert for portraits of her daughter and granddaughter. For a further discussion of this remarkable woman, see Wallace B. Eberhard in Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., Dictionary of Georgia Biography, Volume I *(Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1983), pp. 455–457.*

Frick Art Reference Library file 575-11c (neg. 51260)

JOYNER, WILLIAM
(figure 17)
Signed "P. de Cloriviere, 1807"
Collection of the Gibbes Art Gallery/Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc. 42.14.01, gift of Mrs. Ridgely Hunt.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, 1936.
Illustrated: Martha R. Severest, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association* (Charleston, South Carolina: Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984), p. 21.
Listed by not illustrated in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), 176.

William Joyner, a native of Bristol, England, married Elizabeth Joyner, widow of James Joyner, at Port Royal, South Carolina, in 1783. Following Elizabeth's death in 1797, William married Susannah Graywon, widow of John, in 1798. William Joyner was listed as both "late tax collector, St. Helena" and a "vendue Master" in 1802. Notice of the dissolution of his firm was given in the Charleston paper in 1803. South Carolina Weekly Gazette, *Charleston, South Carolina, 22 February 1783; St. Helena Parish Register, v. 23, pp. 109 and 125; South Carolina Treasurer's Records, Ledger B, MFm26, p. 31, 7 January 1802;* City Gazette & Daily Advertiser, *Charleston, South Carolina, 2 February 1803.*

MRF 3455

KIMBALL, HAZEN (b. 1767–d. 1819)
(figure 7)
Signed: "Picot, 1805"
The case is engraved on the rear, "Hazen Kimball/ B. Sept 8th 1767/ D. July 16 1819/ Given Oct. 10th 1866 to/ Priscilla Hazen Jones/ Given Sept. 23rd 1925 to/ Priscilla Kimball."
Private collection, 2003.
Conserved by Carol Aiken, 2001. See endnote 27 for a partial report.

Hazen Kimball was born in New Hampshire. In 1805 he acted as agent for the sale of a half share in the Georgia Republican. He advertised a coach, riding chair, wagon, and harness for sale in 1806, and other goods imported from Boston in 1814. As a commissioner of pilotage, he was responsible for dredging the Savannah River (see endnote 26) in 1818. Georgia Republican & State Intelligencier, *Savannah, Georgia, 19 November 1805;* Savannah Advertiser, *Savannah, Georgia, 5 April 1806 and 13 January 1814;* The Morning Chronicle, *Savannah, Georgia, 7 December 1818.*

MRF 29441

MENDENHALL, THOMAS, JR. (b. 1780–d. 1817)
(figure 22)
Signed: "Picot"
Collection of Thomas Mendenhall Finucan, Summerville, South Carolina, 1936, 1996.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, Charleston, 1936.
Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 170; National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of South Carolina, *South Carolina Portraits* (Columbia: National Society of Colonial Dames in America in the State of South Carolina, 1996), p. 444.

Thomas Mendenhall, Jr. was appointed cashier of the Bank of the United States in Savannah, Georgia, in 1808 upon the death of his father, Thomas Mendenhall, Sr., who had held the same office. Thomas Mendenhall, Jr. died in Marseilles, France, in 1817. Reporter and Savannah Evening Ledger, *Savannah, Georgia, 4 October 1808 and 6 December 1817. The portrait was most likely painted in Georgia rather than in France as the entry in* South Carolina Portraits *suggests.*

Frick Art Reference Library neg. 16811

MERRE (SP?)
Painted: 7 February 1807, possibly in Washington, DC
Current whereabouts unknown
Recorded in Cloriviere's record of his account of Chappedelaine, where he noted a charge of $25 for the portrait presented to this attorney. See entry for Winder for another entry of the same month.

SANCHEZ, MRS. FRANCISCO XAVIER (Maria Del Carmen Hill) (b. 1775–d. 1814)
(figure 26)
Signed: "P"
Collection of the Gibbes Art Gallery/Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc 37.02.04, acquired with funds provided by the Victor Morawetz Fund.
Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, 1936, loaned by Mrs. Ridgely Hunt, Washington, DC.

Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 169; Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association* (Charleston, South Carolina: Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984), p. 22.

According to Severens, Mrs. Sanchez was a resident of St. Augustine, Florida.

MRF 3454

SEMMES, ANDREW GREEN SIMPSON (b. 1781–d. 1833)
(figure 23)
Signed: "Picot"
Collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, acc. 2287.1.
Exhibited and Illustrated: Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941, lent by Mrs. Clayton Torrence.
Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 171; Carolyn J. Weekley, "Artists Working in the South, 1750–1820, *The Magazine Antiques* (November 1976), p. 1054; Jan Garrett Hind, *The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts: A Collection of Southern Furniture, Paintings, Ceramics, Textiles, and Metalware* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem Inc., 1979), p. 96.

Andrew Green was reportedly born in Charles County, Maryland, and died in Washington, Georgia. He advertised in 1815 that he had commenced business as a factor and commission merchant. Reporter & Savannah Evening Ledger, *Savannah, Georgia, 14 November 1815.*

MRF 2671

STURGES, OLIVER (b. 1777–d. 1824)
(figure 8)
Signed: "Picot 1805"
Collection of Mrs. Lorton Stoy Livingston (Margaret Gilchrist), 1975, 1995.
Exhibited and Illustrated: Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 67, 102.
Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 296.

Born in Connecticut, Oliver Sturges had moved to Georgia by 1799, when he offered a reward in Augusta for a strayed or stolen horse. He was described as a merchant of Augusta in June of 1802 when he married Eliza Neil, also of that city. In December of 1802, he announced in Savannah that he had entered a partnership with Benjamin Burroughs. He was Secretary of the Bank of Georgia in 1816, and part owner of the steamship Savannah. Augusta Chronicle and Gazette, *Augusta, Georgia, September 1799 and 12 June 1802;* Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser, *Savannah, Georgia, 24 December 1802;* The News, *Washington, Georgia, 5 April 1816;* Journal, *Milledgeville, Georgia, 8 April 1816.*

MRF 8264

TAYLOR, MRS. WILLIAM (Mary Clayton Miller) (b. 1774–d. 1845 or 1846)
(figure 27)
Unsigned
Collection of Mrs. John Holme Ballantine, New York City, 1951; descended in the family of the subject.
Exhibited: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1925–1926, attributed to James Peale, loaned by Mrs. Charles Ellet Rieman and William de Vries Goodwin, Baltimore.

Mary Clayton Miller is described by Anna Wells Rutledge as being from Edenton, North Carolina. She married William Taylor of Savannah. Although attributed during the exhibition at the National Gallery of Art to James Peale, notes in the Frick Art Reference Library indicate that at the time family tradition attributed the work to "Picot." The marked similarity between this portrait and that of Mrs. William White (Mary Ann Belinda O'Keefe), signed "Picot" (see below), support Anna Wells Rutledge's 1938 attribution of this work to Clorivière.

Frick Art Reference Library neg. 3614b

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN
Signed: "P. de Cloriviere, 1807"
Collection of Mrs. N. A. Lapsely, 1941.
Exhibited & Illustrated: Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941.
Probably listed as #21 in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN
Signed: "Cloriviere, 18__"
Current whereabouts unknown
Listed as #20 in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

UNKNOWN LADY
(figure 12)
Signed: "Picot, 1805" and "Cloriviere"
A card visible on the rear is inscribed in ink, "Portrait d. ma Mère fait en 1806 par I. Chevalier de Limolan."
Private collection, 2003.

See the accompanying article for a discussion of this portrait.

MRF 29442

UNKNOWN LADY

Signed: "Picot"

Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. 25.106.12, gift of Mrs. Louise V. Bell, in memory of her husband, 1925.

Illustrated: Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 173.

Originally attributed to François-Edmond Picot, this work was reattributed to Clorivière in 1938, perhaps as a result of the work of Anna Wells Rutledge.

UNKNOWN LADY

Signed: "P. de Clo."

Current whereabouts unknown

Listed, but not illustrated, in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

WHITE, STEELE (b. 1784–d. 1823)

(figure 24)

Signed: "Picot"

Inscription on back, in script on paper: "General / Steele White son / of Ro[bert and] / Jean [McAllister] White b. Dec. 5, 1784. d. March 29, 1823."

Collection of the Telfair Museum of Art, Savannah, Georgia, bequest of Mary White Jackson, 1952; descended in the family of the subject.

Exhibited and Illustrated: Page Talbott, *Classical Savannah: Fine and Decorative Arts, 1800–1840* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 30, 38.

Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 299.

According to the Register of Deaths in Savannah, Steele White was born in Virginia. He was listed as a "merchant" at the time of his death. Previously, in 1808, he and J. E. White had advertised they would continue the merchant business of John Jackson with Jackson's widow.

Reporter and Savannah Evening Ledger, *Savannah, Georgia, 19 January 1808; Register of Deaths, Savannah, Georgia, 30 March 1823, p. 147.*

MRF 8307; Frick Art Reference Library neg. 51816.

WHITE, MRS. WILLIAM (Mary Ann Belinda O'Keefe)

(figure 28)

Signed: "Picot"; the initials of the subject "MAW" are on the back.

Collection of the Gibbes Art Gallery/Carolina Art Association, Charleston, South Carolina, acc 72.10.01, bequest of Mrs. W. E. Simms.

Exhibited: Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1936, lent by Mrs. Finley H.

Calvert of Washington, DC; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and The National Museum of American Art, Washington, 1990, lent by the Carolina Art Association.

Illustrated: Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association* (Charleston, South Carolina: Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984), p. 21.

Listed, but not illustrated, in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Cloriviere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

William White advertised goods for sale, fabrics, etc., in Augusta in 1795. Mrs. Mary Ann O'Keefe married the merchant William White in Augusta in May 1801. Her eight-month-old son died in 1802. She advertised in Savannah as the executor of her husband's estate in 1807. Augusta Chronicle & Gazette, *Augusta, Georgia, 30 May 1801 and 4 September 1802;* Reporter & Savannah Evening Ledger, *Savannah, Georgia, 1 August 1807. Severens records, "According to Clorivière's diary still in family hands he painted numerous miniatures for Mrs. White in Augusta during May and June, 1806." According to notes in the files at the Carolina Art Association, Mary Ann O'Keefe (Mrs. William White) was born in Ireland prior to her father's emigration from Belfast in 1788. The oldest of five children to survive her father, Mary Ann served as his executor when he died in 1792.*

WINDER, WM H

Painted: February 1807 in Washington, DC

Current whereabouts unknown

Recorded in Clorivière's record of his account of Chappedelaine, where he noted a charge of $25 for the portrait presented to this attorney.

WOODRUFF, MR.

Painted: June 1805.

Current whereabouts unknown

Recorded in Clorivière's record of his account of Chappedelaine, where he noted a charge of $72.50 for portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff, and the repair of another, for this attorney.

WOODRUFF, MRS.

Painted: June 1805

Current whereabouts unknown

Recorded in Clorivière's record of his account of Chappedelaine, where he noted a charge of $72.50 for portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff, and the repair of another, for this attorney.

CROPPER, GENERAL JOHN (b. 1755–d. 1821)
Unsigned. The style is not typical of signed works by Clorivière.
Private collection, 1975; descended to the owner through the family of the subject.

John Cropper lived on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, where he organized troops during the Revolutionary War. See Barton Haxall Wise, Memoir of General John Cropper of Accomack County, Virginia, *reprinted from* Virginia Historical Collections, *Vol. XI, 1892, 1974.*

MRF 4274

FURT, RICHARD
No illustration or record of a signature could be found for this work.
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Frank W. Upshur, 1941.
Exhibited: Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941.
Listed, but not illustrated, in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Clorivière," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

Richard Furt, a native of France, advertised entry into a partnership with D'Anfossy & Rambaut, in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1811. Furt constructed a dwelling in Petersburg in 1817, where he filed his intent to become a citizen in 1818. He advertised there in 1819 that he had just completed a new manufacturing mill, where he was receiving wheat and selling groceries. Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger, *Norfolk, Virginia, 6 February 1811. Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, v. 55, p. 955; Petersburg Court Minutes, 18 June 1818;* Petersburg Reporter, *Petersburg, Virginia, 10 August 1819.*

FURT, MRS. RICHARD (Elizabeth Badger)
No illustration or record of a signature could be found for this work.
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Frank W. Upshur, 1941.
Exhibited, Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia, 1941.
Listed, but not illustrated, in Anna Wells Rutledge, "A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoelan de Clorivière," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1948), p. 176.

See Richard Furt, above.

KEY, FRANCIS SCOTT
Unsigned
The format and style of this work are not typical of signed works by Clorivière.
Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
Exhibited: J. Hall Pleasants Memorial Exhibition, Maryland Historical Society, 1952.

SMYTH, THOMAS, JR. (b. 1757–d. 1807)

Unsigned. The style of this work is not typical of signed works by Clorivière.

Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, acc. 1926.32.1, gift of Margaret Eugenia Nicols.

Listed in Anna Wells Rutledge, "Handlist of Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (vol. 40, no. 194 [June 1945]).

The subject lived in Kent County, Maryland. There is no family tradition regarding the artist. The attribution was made by Anna Wells Rutledge in 1938. The subject appears younger than the 50 years of age he would been, if the subject's life dates given are correct, when Clorivière was working in Maryland. Moreover the background is atypical for works signed by Clorivière.

MRF 10596; Frick Art Reference Library file 4765a.

WAYNE, MRS. WILLIAM CLIFFORD (Ann Gordon)

Unsigned. The style of this work is not typical of signed works by Clotivière.

Collection of Mrs. Merritt W. Dixon, 1975.

Illustrated: National Society of Colonial Dames in Georgia, *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 299.

In Early Georgia Portraits, *1815 is given as the date for Mrs. Wayne's marriage and 1816 is suggested as the date for this portrait. However there is no documentation that Clorivière painted portraits after 1808. Moreover, the depiction of this long-necked subject is quite unlike Clorivière's signed portraits.* Early Georgia Portraits *credits the Clorivière attribution to the Frick Art Reference Library. Although a photograph of this portrait entered the files of the Frick ca. 1953, no basis for the attribution is given.*

Frick Art Reference Library neg. 51331

MESDA